to return to the village or otherwise get into contact with the living.

Beyond serving as a means for accounting for the existence of the world, the "High God," *Itukoviche*, was not significant. It may even turn out that the belief in a "High God" is due to Christian influence. There appear to be no myths or rituals connected with *Itukoviche*. The really important supernatural beings were the twin culture heroes, *Yúrikoyuvakái*. By reference to these twins the Terena explain their origin and the origin of agriculture, fire, and other elements of their culture. The Terena have a number of myths about the origin and exploits of the twin culture heroes. One version expresses the origin of *Yúrikoyuvakái* as follows:

In the beginning *Yúrikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, *Yúrikoyuvakái* stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut *Yúrikoyuvakái* in two, both halves later growing into the twins.

Another version states that the twins originated from a centipede:

Yúrikoyuvakái was a centipede who lived with his mother. He made his mother very angry because he wanted to follow her into the fields every day. One day she became so angry that she cut him in two. The two halves grew up into twins.

The Terena claim that everything they possessed in the past was received from the twin culture heroes. One myth expresses the origin of the Terena as follows:

In the beginning there were the twins *Yúrikoyuvakái*. They both had the same name. They used to walk around the world setting traps to catch birds. One morning they did not find a bird in the trap but only the remains of a bird. As some one was stealing their birds the twins decided to set a watch over the trap. They ordered the lizard to watch the trap. But the lizard was lazy and careless and did not see who was stealing the birds. When the twins saw that the trap was empty, they questioned the lizard who could not answer. The twins then became very angry and threw the lizard against a tree, and that is why lizards live in trees even today. The twins then ordered a little bird, "bemtevi," to watch the trap. Next morning the twins found the trap empty and when they questioned "bemtevi" about who had stolen the bird, he flew up and down over a bunch of grass and chirped, "This is the door to the place from where the people came who robbed your trap." Then the twins pulled out the bunch of grass and found a door, and when they opened the door, they found a hole in the ground full of Indians.

The twins ordered the Indians to come out. They all came out, not one remaining in the hole. The Indians

had their mouths open, but they could not speak, so the twins gave them a language and put them into a place where they could live. But the Indians had no fire and shivered with cold. The twins then ordered the hare to go and fetch fire which at this time was kept by *Takeoré*. *Takeoré* refused to give it to the hare and stood over the fire with open legs. The hare took a bean, *hiveé*, and threw it into the fire and when the bean burst *Takeoré* was frightened so badly that the hare was able to steal a live coal and run away. But *Takeoré* pursued the hare and when he almost caught him, the hare hid in a hollow tree. *Takeoré* thrust a stick into the hole to kill the hare. The hare cut his foot and let the blood run over the stick. When *Takeoré* saw the blood he believed that the hare was dead and went away. The hare then picked up the live coal, ran to the Indians and threw the coal into a field which caught on fire. The Indians now had fire and were warm.

The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *povóoti;* the digging stick, *ilomé'i;* the knife, *piritau;* the sickle, *yopilokóti;* the war club, *pulá'oi;* and the bow, *shekié;* arrows, *shumé;* and the spear, *suiké*. To the women the twins gave the spindle, *hopáe*. *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

The culture hero legends provide a mythical charter for the Terena way of life. The importance of the earth is stressed. The Indians came out of the earth. Agriculture was a male occupation while women spun cotton. The culture hero gave them language, fire, and economic techniques. The cunning necessary to survive in the struggle of life is stressed in the story of the hare stealing fire. The twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, were not the creators of the world of animals and men. They were benevolent beings who freed the Indians and taught them the arts of social life.

On the other hand, the Terena have evil spirits in their pantheon of supernatural beings, such as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiuné*. It is curious to note that these mythical monsters are the causes of heavy rains and floods, physical phenomena which occur in the Chaco and which were a real danger to the Terena. Referring to a flood, *ivoyóneti*, we have the following story:

It rained without stopping. It was *Vanónu* speaking from the sky, it was *Vanónu* coming down. The rain covered the field, water was overflowing everywhere. Then there was a shaman who began to sing and shake his gourd rattle, *itsáka*. If *Vanónu* came to the ground everything would be covered with water. The shaman sang telling *Vanónu* to go back into the sky. Then *Vanónu* spoke like thunder, the Indians heard *Vanónu's* voice, but they could not understand him. *Vanónu* was evil and was

bringing harm to the Indians. The shaman kept on singing. He kept on singing for a long time until *Vanónu's* voice became weaker and weaker and he stopped speaking altogether. When the rain ceased the shaman stopped singing.

Another evil spirit who lives near water and brings storms is *Voropí:*

Voropí is a water spirit. He lives in a tree near the bank of a stream. He is a great serpent with a human face. He does not like human smell and if some person comes near his home he becomes very angry and sends heavy rain, and lightning flashes from his sides. When he is very angry he sends so much rain that people drown. *Voropí* does not like human hair and that is why the Indians in the Chaco pull out their eyebrows, their pubic hair, and why men pull out the hairs on their chins. Bathing in lakes and rivers makes *Voropí* angry.

Hihíaiuné is a female water spirit who lives in the rivers of the Chaco:

Hihíaiuné is a large serpent. She hates menstruating women and people who are mourning for the dead. A menstruating woman must remain indoors and on no account go to a lake or river to wash, for this would anger *Hihíaiuné* who would send the winds *saipoti* and *saiponé* which in turn would bring heavy rains and floods. If a man should have contact with a menstruating woman, he too must avoid water for fear that a flood would destroy his house. To avoid sexual contact menstruating women paint themselves black.

The Terena believed, and still believe, that the affairs of men are directly influenced by spirits, not only by such as *Voropí, Vanónu, and Hihíaiuné* and the ghosts of the dead, but by the souls of living men, animals, plants, and inanimate objects. Sickness, misfortune, and death are caused by spirits and souls of the dead. On the other hand, success in war, hunting, fishing, farming, and love-making can be achieved through the assistance of these spiritual entities. People fear the ghosts of the dead, for they sometimes come back to take a relative or friend to the land of the dead. The ghosts of dead shamans are even more powerful in their influence over human life. The anger of *Voropí*, *Vanónu*, and *Hihíaiuné* are a threat to life and property. But in addition to these dangers, the souls of people may leave their living bodies or the souls of objects and animals may cause these objects or animals to enter the body, thus bringing about illness or death.

SHAMANISM

Terena shamanism rests on the belief that the world of spirits, ghosts, and souls is open to human

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

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division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

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The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the

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weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both

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sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly

68. 1949:294-295.

disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their inte-

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gration into the regional socio-economic structure. But the

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existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
616 [173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikinâu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[273] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[296] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage of the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquipahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which
796 seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--
756 such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have
[282] as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer,
265 who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers
[289] (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

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86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

796 The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna
182 society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,
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87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its
[462] latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that traditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to

90. "The cerimonial life of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect, Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, today changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/53 cont./

773 Let us take as an illustration, and analyze in terms of the total culture, the myth of Yurikovuvakái, the civilizing hero, who drew the Terêna from the depths of the earth and gave them fire, as well as all the implements necessary to their survival above ground. Concerning the origin of Yurikovuvakái--which is of special interest to us here--the story or myth tells us, according to a version by Baldus, that "in the old days Orekajuvakái were one alone, and when he was young his mother became angry because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the farm plot; she went to the plot, took out the scythe, and with it cut Orekajakái in two pieces. The piece above the waist became people, and the other half people also." (92)

92. 1950:218.

171 773 Baldus notes in this respect that "the Kaduveo, a Guaikuru tribe neighboring on the Tereno and like them originally from the Chaco, have a legend in which a woman cuts her son in two pieces, a child forming from each of the pieces, both children having the same name, Nareatedi." (93) The version

773 [115]

93. 1950:223.

we obtained, from the mouth of an old Terêna informant, of Cachoeirinha, shows Yurikovuvakái as /54/ having a brother called Taipuvukê, slightly inferior to him; "one day they began to cut cloud to kill all because they did not want us to live; but the more they cut, the more the cloud grew. Then the two stopped cutting, because they grew tired, and each went his way." [616] It seems that we are in front of a myth that reconciles different stories that endeavor to present different aspects or temperaments of the mythical twins, and that, according to Rattray-Hay, (94) as we have seen, would explain

94. 1928:109.

/54 cont./

273 616 the divergent behavior of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó moieties. Compare the figures of Taipuvuké and Yurikoyuvakái (in our version) with that of Pitanoé, presented by Baldus as the civilizing hero, of the prankster type, "who gave the ancestors not only the seed of a leguminous plant whose beans are very important in Terêna food, but also a package which contained nothing but sand flies, and furthermore it was he who endeavored to fell the clouds by cutting them with an axe."(95)

95. 1950:224.

There is no doubt that Pitanoé and Taipuyukê are the same mythical figure, while they represent the mischievous, irreverent, and aggressive side of the civilizing hero, Yurikoyuvakái.

Taipuyukê (or Pitanoé) and Yurikoyuvakái, both of them, through their divergent qualities, the mythical ancestors respectively of the Xumonó and Sukirikionó "moieties," seem to reflect, on the other hand, a slight superiority of one over the other, specifically of the Sukirikionó over the Xumonó. The version obtained by Altenfelder Silva, in this respect, is quite conclusive: "In the beginning there was only one Yurikoyuvakái who lived with his sister Livetchetchevena. Yurikoyuvakái cut the ray of the world. His sister planted a tree, and when it bore fruit, Yurikoyuvakái stole the fruit. Livetchetchevena got angry and cut him in the middle. From the upper part a Yurikoyuvakái arose; from the lower part there [184] arose another. But the first was the master."(96) As is seen,

96. 1949:349.

despite the variations encountered as versions are compared, there is always in evidence, in one way or another, the superiority of one twin over the other. Whether this expresses the fact that at one time the moieties came /55/ to have asymmetric, nonceremonial relations, is a hypothesis we are

/55 cont./

773 616 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionő were regarded as [177] slightly superior to the Xumonő. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 114 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field. 128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
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6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

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Naati

("class" line)

Waherê

(ethnic line)

Kauti

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

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616 stole the fruits. *Livéchechevéna* then became very angry and cut
●793 Yurikoyuvakái in two, both halves later growing into the twins" (1949 : 42). This version does not suggest the superiority of one twin over the other. In a version which we recorded of this same story, there is the suggestion, however, of the predominance of one moiety over the other—to the extent that the moieties may be considered to correspond to the twins. According to one old Terena: "Yurikoyuvakái had a brother Tapuyuké, somewhat shorter than he was. One day they started to cut the clouds so as to kill everything, because they did not want us to survive. But the more they cut the more the clouds grew. Then the two stopped cutting because they were tired. And each one went his own way." The versions recorded by Herbert Baldus tell us that "Anciently Orekajuvakái was just one and while he was still young his mother became angry with him because Orekajuvakái did not want to go with her to the garden; she went to the garden, got a sickle and cut Orekajuvakái into two pieces. The piece from the waist up turned into people; and the other half became people too" (1950 : 218). Baldus indicates that there was another culture-hero myth among the Terena that referred to a malicious person who did not always act with the best of intentions, considerably different from the idea presented by Yurikoyuvakái. This second concerned the hero Pitanoé, who can be equivalent with Taipuyuké, of whom our informant from Cachoeirinha spoke. It appears that the myth that we recorded reconciles the two personalities of Orekoyuvakái and Taipuyuké (or Pitanoé), by making them originally a single person, who was only later divided into two, which gave birth to two distinct personalities which correspond to the two moieties Sukirikionó and Xumonó. The other versions collected by us and others, are really only variations of the theme we have presented. On the point of the superiority of one twin over the other, Altenfelder Silva supports the general hypothesis, saying that after Yurikojuvakái had been cut through the middle, "the top part grew to be another Yurikoyuvakái; the lower part became another person. But the first was the one who gave orders" (1949 : 349).

616 The impression gained from talking to the Terena is that the Sukirikionó are a little superior to the Xumonó, although this superiority is never reflected in ordinary social intercourse. It is probable that this difference of "ethos" has always been evident solely in the magico-religious ceremonies and in the secular games described above, without ever having influenced social norms. As we shall show, the role of the moieties in society was confined to the regulation of marriage, in conjunction with the strata.[9]

[9] The Portuguese term used here is *camada*, which is considered to be equivalent to the technical usage of "stratum".

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several examples, not only in Cachoeirinha but also in several other Terena villages. Sexual interest between afinal relations is certainly
835 a theme of the mythology, as demonstrated by the following Terena
773 myth, which is today repeated quite commonly as a folktale. "An old

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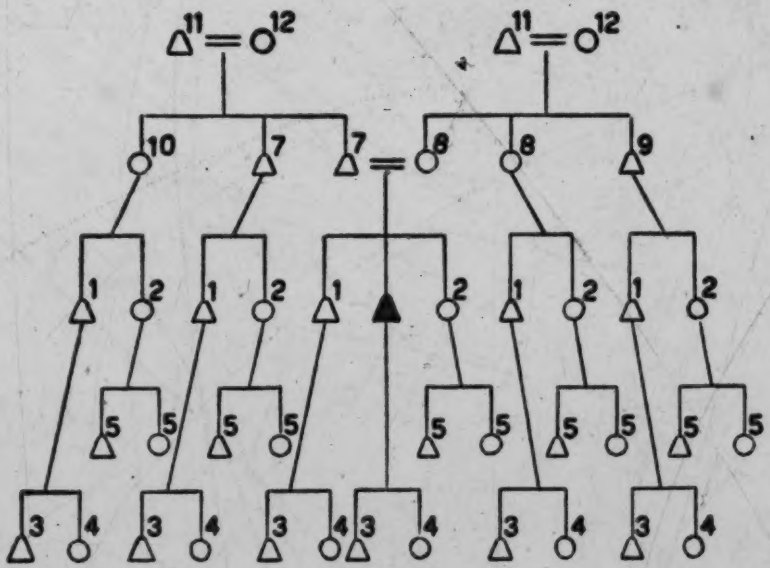

Figure V

(1) Angi, (2) Mongetxá, (3) Dje-é, (4) Inxiné, (5) Nevongé, (6) Amori, (7) Zaa, (8) Eeno, (9) Eungo, (10) Oongo, (11) Onzu, (12) Onze. All of the numbered terms, composing the consanguineous kinship system, are elemental in their linguistic structure, and are employed as terms of reference. These were the two criteria used in filling out our list of the kinship terminology. Nevertheless there are certain discrepancies to be found in comparing this with that published by Oberg and Altenfelder Silva: With relation to the maternal uncle (9) and paternal aunt (10), they preferred the descriptive terms Ayo-Eeno and Mongetxa-Zaa, which mean "brother of mother" and "sister of father" (noting that Ayo is the term for "brother" when Ego is feminine); while Oberg prefers the name Ayo-Eeno, Altenfelder Silva links Ayo with the address term Lulu "uncle". It is noted, further, that father's brothers and mother's sisters are called respectively by the address term Taata "father" and Meene "mother", in the same fashion as the biological father and mother. The kinship system also makes a distinction between older brother (Enjovi) and younger brother (Andi), when Ego is masculine.

[114]

835 man liked his sister-in-law (we are transcribing faithfully the words
773 of the informant). His sister-in-law died, and the old man, named Viily, buried her in the cemetery. Then the armadillo came and rooted

[587] were much criticized by the community. They avoid public reference to their case, although they live in the same house and form an economic unit.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

around the body of the sister-in-law and then the old man found it messed up. At that, Viily ordered a tarimba (a plat form above the grave) made so he could wait for the armadillo." The story continues, telling how Viily watched the body of his sister-in-law, talked with her spirit (koipihapati), consulted an old Koixomuneti (witchdoctor) to get magical powers and, finally, lost those powers by having sexual relations with a woman (the myth does not indicate the relatioshinp of this woman to the old man). Leaving aside the analysis of the myth, which is not our purpose here, it is enough to point out the place of the sister-in-law in the Terena moral world, as an objetc of sexual and matrimonial interest.

Concerning this last aspect it is interesting to note the explanations offerred by the Terena when asked why he had married his dead wife's sister. He said that after the death of his wife, his father-in-law had sought him out and asked him to marry his other daughter, on the grounds that he liked his son-in-law very much, was already acquainted with him, and his daughter needed a "good man". It appears that here, as in other cases observed, there was the indirect influence of the mother-in-law, who acted through her husband (the father-in-law), and in other instances through an older son.

On the other hand Terena social structure does not permit *fraternal polyandry*. The permitted *levirate*, i. e., the marriage of a widow with the brother of her former husband, still exists, with two cases found in Cachoerinha alone. *Polygynous union* of one man with several unrelated women seems to have been permitted within the tradicional social organization. Twenty years ago it was still tolerated, as in the case of a man with a great deal of prestige, or who was a Naati (as was true of the next-to-the-last "Captain", and last real Naati chief of Cachoeirinha). Today it is proscribed. In this respect, "Captain" Timothy, the non-hereditary successor of this last Naati chief, comments that the cause of the "Captain" abdicating his position was his fondness of drink and the fact that he had many wives...[13] The common practice, nevertheless, had been monogamy, accompanied by matri-local, and today bilocal or neo-local, residence.

[13] Under normal circumstances, i. e., in accord with Terena social structure, "Captain" Timothy could not be a "Chief of the People", since he was not a Naati, but a Waheré-Txané. The title of "Captain", while it was designed to substitute that of "Chief of the People", has not actually done so, as evidenced by the much smaller amount of prestige that it enjoys, which in turn is a result of the "artificial" mechanisms by the Indian Protective Service, without taking into account the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for selection.